/9 cont'd/

131 scattered in all directions, yet they could not have all moved away
175 entirely. It is reasonable to assert that a part of them (regardless of how many) must have remained in the original locality. Since Lo-huo, Pao-yü, and other t'ungs of the Li people as well as Lo-an itself were all located within the Yai-chou area during the Ch'ing period, may we not deduce that there were Miao in Yai-chou, although we have failed to find any record of them in the local annals.

This is all that we know about the geographical distribution of the Miao during the Ch'ing period. Now let us discuss their distribution at the present time.

131 The Miao today, just as in the past, move about irregularly.
166 (I personally saw the entire Miao population in Ta-pen village move
221 to another locality.) Hence, it is also impossible to ascertain the exact areas in which they are distributed now as in the past. It would appear that there are Miao in the three districts of Pao-t'ing, Lo-tung, and Pai-sha, into which the Li area of Hainan has been divided, since traditionally the Li and the Miao have lived mingled with each other. It is said that Pao-t'ing has the largest number. Concerning the distribution of the Miao people in Pao-t'ing district, Wang Fu-shou, a Miao headman /chia-ch'ang, headman of ten families/ gave me the following information:

Name of Village	Number of Families	Residents' Surnames
Pao-ch'a	10 or more	Wang, P'an, Chang, etc.
Fan-man	8	T'an
Ma-tsui	30 or more	Teng and others
/10/Ch'iang-k'eng	5 to 6	- -
Nan-hao	6 to 7	- -
Mao-chiang	10	P'an
Mao-mai	7 to 8	Shih
Shih-p'an	--	- -
Ang-chi	11 to 12	Lu
Chih-p'o	12	Teng
Nan-ta-t'ung	7 to 8	Huang

/10 cont'd/

Ya-nan	5 to 6	Ch'en
San-wei	4	Shih
Mao-shih	8	P'an
Hsien-yün	8	Huang
Nan-shu	5	Liao
Ch'uang-wen	10	Kung
Erh-shu	5	- -
K'an-tsao	7	Shih
Fan-shih	7	P'an

/11/ According to what Mr. Yang Tsung-yao, employed by the Pao-t'ing district government, told me, there were Miao t'uan /groups/ (each t'uan comprises a certain number of villages) and villages in Pao-t'ing district, as follows:

Chia-tung T'uan
Ho-shui T'uan
Nan-mou T'uan
Chung-p'ing-tzŭ village
Peng-ling village
Kao-t'i village
Ta-p'ing village
Hsiao-mei village

The others in the other two districts, Lo-tung and Pai-sha, are now known.

What is the total Miao population in Hainan? At the present time there are no statistical data to contribute to our inquiry. As an alternative we shall attempt to find it by three different means. First, we shall attempt to trace the original number of Miao troops who were moved there from Kwangsi. Wang Tso states in his Record of the Suppression of the Li Uprisings /see above/ that "the central army was commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Ma Ch'eng, who ordered 10,000 of the han-ta troops and Lang-t'u soldiers of Kwangtung and Kwangsi to attack the central stronghold." In his Memorial Concerning the Suppression of the Li Uprisings, Cheng T'ing-ku also says:

/33 cont'd/

61 through frequent contacts and mutual interests. It is possible for this relationship to be even closer than that between those of the same surname who live far apart.

61 In summarizing, all subjective conditions necessary for the 121 development of the Miao kin group seem to have fully matured. [[71]] Their social organization will change once their economic life takes on a new direction. As far as this point is concerned, Miao society seems more advanced than Li society.

3. The Village

•621 There is usually a village on every hill. The village is the most important center of the Miao social organization. It is not only a natural unit within certain geographic limits but also a community of common economic life. This point will be reserved for discussion in the next section. Now let us look at the external appearance of the village and its other aspects and activities.

[618 592] There are two kinds of villages: one is the village consisting of two or more surnames; the other consists of only one. The former type forms the large majority. A large village usually consists of more than ten or more families; a small one consists of several families. Their houses are close to each other in a cluster. The [361 311] village is usually encircled by a wood or bamboo fence in which there is a gate, but there are also villages which are unenclosed, 622 without fence or gate. The cultivable mountain land is always outside the village; inside the village there are only a few vegetable gardens. The headman of the village today is called chia-ch'ang /"head of a chia, or 100 families"/ or pao-ch'ang /"head of a pao, or 10 chia"/; (for detailed information consult the author's previous work, Report on an Investigation of the Li of Hainan Island). Before the pao-chia system was put into practice in the Miao and Li region by the government, the headman of a village, it is said, was called shan-chia /"mountain chief"/. /34/ This position was usually filled by an older man elected by the villagers. The qualifications for this position were ability to read Chinese, knowledge, experience, and Taoist persuasion. It is not definitely established

/39 cont'd/

423 675 "Again: The lands of Mt. Mao-jui have been purchased in the second year of Hsüan-t'ung /1909/ from P'an Chao and Li Yüng-sheng, who hereby jointly sell the land to Lao Pan at the agreed price of 60 large silver dollars."

"Again: In the second year of the Republic /1913/, Chang Ming-yao has raised /the price?/ 12 dollars."

"Again: Chin chia-ch'ang has purchased the lands of Mt. Mao-jui. Chang Ming-yao sells the aforesaid land to Chin Chia-ch'ang. The agreed price is 200 large silver dollars. This certificate of purchase is signed and executed in the fourteenth year of the Republic /1925/. /40/ The undersigned Chang Ming-yao, Huang Hsing-li, Ch'en Ch'en-chou, and Li Hsi-ch'ing together with the Li people purchase Mt. Mao-jui which is to be transferred to Lao Teng and Lao Chin for cultivation. The agreed price is 350 silver dollars. Sixteenth day of the second month of the twenty-second year of the Republic /1933/."

"Mt. Nan-shih-lung has been purchased at the agreed price of 576 large silver dollars, on the seventh day of the second month of the first year of the Republic /1912/."

"The sellers of Mt. Nan-shih, Wang Kai-lung and Wang Kai-ch'un sell the said land to Teng Chia-ch'ang at the agreed price of 130 large silver dollars. Tenth day of the third month of the eighteenth year of the Republic /1929/."

421 423 621 The above are contracts for the purchase of mountains. Since these mountains are based or purchased through funds contributed by each family of the whole village, they are, of course, community property. Each family of the village has an equal right in the use of the land. In other words, people of the

/40 cont'd/

421 mountain have the right to cultivate freely on any one piece of land
423 on the mountain without interference from any one else. On the
621 other hand, people of neighboring mountains are not allowed to cross the border line. Their method of distributing the land is as follows: If a family wants a piece of land to cultivate, it may select an area, the boundaries of which are marked off on the branches of trees. /41/ The land so marked then temporarily belongs to it. Thereafter if someone sees these marks, he knows that the land is already occupied and he must look for land elsewhere. But after this family has harvested its crops, the land reverts to public ownership.

421 Whereas the aforesaid system of community ownership of land
423 is actually the case among the Miao, the system of private ownership of land also exists. Since the family is the basic unit of Miao social organization, the property accumulated by different families varies. In addition to the communal lands, the wealthy families
554 also have private lands leased or purchased from the Li or from
421 Chinese merchants. Some of them have even bought a number of irrigable rice paddies. They are, of course, better off than the average Miao. For example, the family of Lu Tsun-ying, the chia-ch'ang of Ang-chi village in Ta-ch'i, owned both mountain land and level fields. They also hired several workers to cut lumber in the mountains from which he gained considerable income. However, in actuality there are only a very few such wealthy people among the Miao.

421 With the exception of communal land, all other property is privately owned by different families, and is never confused with communal property.

421 In short, while the system of private ownership of property
556 exists in Miao society, there are only very limited opportunities for accumulating property, and individuals are not able to create a greater measure of wealth. Moreover, the greater part of production
554 comes from the land which is still under communal ownership, and consequently the distinction between the rich and the poor is not very marked among the Miao. It follows that even the initial stage

/132 cont'd/

755 In the evening we went to watch the Hsiao people in Yen-sheng village perform Tso p'ing an, a ritual asking help of a god because of sickness. The name of the god was Fu Lao Ye. His image was [532] carved on wood and seated in a tiny wooden sedan. During the sacred service, two Taoist priests, who were accompanying the wooden god, performed different duties: one recited incantations, and the other performed a series of acts, representing the god's directions to the sick person. As I watched, I suspected that this kind of practice was undoubtedly introduced by the Chinese; a highly symbolic god could not possible have originated in such a primitive culture as the Hsiao's.

754 During a conversation late at night, Mr. Wang Chao-i described in detail the two ways of carrying out black magic that the Li people use, the chin mu and ta fu t'ou, which were really frightening and hair-raising even for us to listen to.

Second month, twenty-fourth day. (Wednesday)

621 At ten o'clock in the morning, accompanied by Chiang Ying-liang and Ho Yüan-chiung, we started fro Chih-pao village. We arrived at the place in about an hour. Most of the villagers were out fishing, and only three old men were left to watch the village gate. Headman Teng Te-ch'un, who seemed to be about 60 years old, was refined in appearance. We were told that there were about 30 families with about 300 members, averaging ten members in each family, and that he had two sons and eight grandsons. He probably 163 exaggerated somewhat, but it is undoubtedly true that the birth rate 171 among the Miao is higher than among the Li, and because of their more sanitary habits the death rate is also lower. We found in his 165 home numerous written records; most were such things as pictures of gods, almanacs, and the Taoist canons. Since we had no time 622 to copy them, we only borrowed one copy and brought it back with 217 us. Headman Teng killed chickens to treat us, and we could not resist his hospitality and stayed for the meal. The meal was cleaner and more eatable than one prepared by the Li would have been.

3: Moninger E-5 (no date) 1921 AE5 Miao AE5

and breaking his legs. In reverse order, when you leave you toil up a hill. That is the plan of all the villages—built in a valley between high hills, and near a stream. Doubtless two factors cause this choice of location—one the need of water and one the protection from robbers that the inaccessible position affords.

MIAO VILLAGE.

The villages vary in size from six or eight houses to forty or fifty. White-water-tail, an average sized village, has I think about twenty houses. The villages are loosely organized under two or three head men, one of whom looks after taxes or rents of fields if any have to be paid, and one of whom is charged with welcoming any guests and looking after any strangers who come. Hainanese trader, European explorer or Christian missionary, woe betide you if you do not go to this head man's house when you first arrive, otherwise you will find it impossible to obtain food and shelter in the village. These men seem to be chosen by common consent when a village is built and apparently hold office as long as the village remains in that location, barring unusual conditions. If new families join a village, it must be with the consent of both villages concerned.

When the site of a village has been selected, the houses are set down wherever the builder chooses to put them, so in very few villages are there anything like straight lanes between the houses. (Streets would be too much of a misnomer to use in this connection). As the houses are built, curving, twisting, snake-like paths develop between

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

one valley which contained Cowrie Shell Miao only. All these peoples attend the same markets and have some social relations with one another. These relations, however, do not extend to intermarriage in the case of the Cowrie Shell Miao, who marry only among themselves. Since they consider themselves descendants of a single ancestor, the Cowrie Shell Miao reckon all other Cowrie Shell Miao their kin, and one finds among them the same degree of unity as among members of a large family distributed over a considerable territory. Members of different villages come together on such occasions as bullfights and market days. They seek their wives from villages outside their own, because a man must marry a woman of a different family surname, and there is usually but one such name to a village. There are thus intervillage relations at weddings, funerals, and other "invitations to drink wine." The largest finite unit is, therefore, the village, which forms part of a larger and less well-defined continuum. The Cowrie Shell Miao as a whole have no political unity and no special leadership. They are simply an aggregation of people who trace their descent from a single ancestor, follow the same or similar customs, and speak a common language.

Family Names. Miss Li [12] listed the following surnames: Wang (王 and 任), P'an (潘), Chin (金), T'ang (唐), and Yang (揚 and 楊). From the records in the office of the *lien pao* [13] of Ting-shui-pa and of Teh-hua in Kuei-ting Hsien I added these: I (易), Lo (羅), and Wu (吳). Usually a village is composed of families, who, with perhaps a single exception, have the same surname.

Physical Appearance and Nature. Although both men and women vary in height, they are generally short of stature. The face is often broad, the nose short with wide nostrils and depressed bridge, and the eyes slanting with a pronounced epicanthic fold. However, I have seen some distinctly "Roman" noses and some with an elevated bridge. I have also seen both round and long heads among both sexes, at all ages, and in the same extended family.

[9a]

[12] See p. 10.

[13] A Chinese political division. One *pao* is ten families; a *lien pao* is ten *pao*.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

361 then returned to Lung-li. Daughters-in-law often came to visit and married girls from this village went to their husbands' homes for visits. The T'ang family in House 7, who had been working for the people in House 15, moved away and the family from House 6 moved into the house vacated.

596 621 **Types of Family and Interrelationship.** With the exception of a Chinese family by the name of Liu in House 4 who said that they were the original inhabitants of the village site, a family by the name of T'ang, who lived in House 7, and the boys I have mentioned, all the people of the village had the surname Yang (楊) and were more or less closely interrelated. A father and mother

[17a]

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

596
621 might live in one house and a married son and his family remain with them, in addition to any younger brothers and sisters who were not yet married or who had not yet set up their own establishments. Other married sons and their families would be living in adjoining or separate houses. The widow in another house might be the wife of the father's brother. I could not work out this interrelationship completely while I was there, but give the following examples: In House 1 lived a grandmother with her married grandson and an unmarried one. In House 2 lived the widow of her son with her unmarried children. A nephew was with the aviation corps in Kunming and his wife and son lived in House 3. The men in Houses 10, 25, and 35 (brothers) were her nephews. The widowed sister-in-law of the man in House 12 lived in House 14. The man in House 17 was son of the old man

4:Michey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

596 in House 16. The man in House 26 was son
621 of the man in House 27, as was also the man in House 30. The younger man in House 28 was nephew of the man and wife in House 29. With the old man in House 27 lived one married son. The man in House 32 was son of the old man in House 33, who had another married son living at home. The widow in House 34 was the old man's sister-in-law. The wife of the man in House 31 was a niece of the wife of the man in House 17.

596 If one considers them by households, they
592 included, first, one of the Chinese extended family type living in one connected group of buildings. This family consisted of a man of seventy, his first wife, aged seventy-two,

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

god and ancestral spirits. Bullfights, which were the greatest social events of the year, for many villages joined in them and those from a distance were overnight guests in nearby villages, had a deep religious significance, and one each twelfth year was a sacrifice. There was no religious element connected with the departure of a bride for her husband's village, with the activities in his village, nor with the setting up of a household after a child was born. 796 571

These work-tasks and festivals involved varying numbers of people. For example, field work at harvest time and at rice-transplanting time sometimes involved a number of related households, with as many as thirty people working together. When the men moved blocks of stone or logs in house-building, as many as a dozen men worked together, helping the house owner with his task. In tiling the roof, some men carried the tiles from piles in another part of the village; others handed these from the carriers' baskets to the men on the roof, who laid the tiles in place. This operation involved fifteen or sixteen men. The man who took the lead in all of these activities was not necessarily the owner of the property concerned, but some one man more skilled in these operations than the others, a semi-specialist. One individual, the carpenter, seemed to come nearest to being a fulltime specialist of the men in the village. Leadership in the larger of the calendric feasts fell on the village elders. 571

The Family. The Cowrie Shell Miao family has already received some attention. It was the basic institution in their society, since most work activities and rituals were carried on within it. When tasks such as housebuilding and ceremonies such as bullfights required larger numbers of people, members of different households and even villages got together for these purposes. 596

Political Institutions. The Cowrie Shell Miao were Chinese citizens, and officially entitled to the same rights and privileges as other Chinese. Their form of local government was Chinese. The leaders of the village 421 [563]

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AES Misc AES

621 were the elders, men who stood at the head of groups of closely related families, known as *pao*. There were three *pao* in Yang-chia-tai, and hence three elders, who formed the village council. Disputes within the family were settled, if possible, in the family, in the *pao* within the *pao*. Disputes within the village between members of different *pao* were ordi-
621 narily settled by the three elders. If, however,
648 they were unable to effect a settlement, the litigants had the right to carry their dispute to the next higher official, the *lien pao chang*,[1] who was a Chinese, and so on up to the Chinese court in the *hsien* city.

276 **Legal Difficulties.** When I went back to
689 the village for the second period of residence,
648 the first of February, 1942, I found that the old man's son, Cheng-hsiang, had been in
123 prison in Lung-li for two weeks. He had gone to collect the price of some rice sold to two families in the city. At the second house he had been arrested in an opium raid and held on the charge of opium smoking. On the sixth I went to the *hsien* magistrate's office on his behalf and found that he had been sent to the local Health Station for observation. The man in charge there was called in. He said Cheng-hsiang would be released and cleared of the charge at the expiration of the required period of observation. On the afternoon of the eighth he was allowed to go home for clean clothing. On the tenth he was released and cleared of the charge.

661 This same young man went during the last
648 week in June to a place to the east to sell some
123 pork. Upon the homeward way he was robbed by soldiers of the proceeds of the sale and carried off. His companion, who had carried the pork, escaped and went into hiding for a while. They could find out nothing about Cheng-hsiang until a letter came from him, saying that he was held at the point where the motor road forked, one fork going to Hunan, the other to Kwangsi. I went to the *hsien* magistrate for him, as they hesitated to go alone to the *hsien* office and felt in this case that my presence might obtain a better reception there for them, and was told to have them send in an official statement, which

[1] The head official of the *lien pao*.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

timber into agricultural implements, and did so. I have never found out what the truth of the matter was, but the Miao lost his case because the *hsien* judge found that his witnesses had not told the truth at other points.

Another case was that of a Miao who had become so angry at his wife that he had her jailed. Her relatives wanted to have her released so that her child need not be born in prison.[9] The husband had disappeared and could not be found to ask him to change his mind. I wrote to the magistrate in the next *hsien*, and after his condition that some merchant in the city go surety for her was met, she was released.

A family in Shang-sai wished to build a house. The head of the family borrowed money from his brother. This brother later brought suit for the return of some of the loan. This was paid at the *hsien* offices on the day set, but the brother did not appear to receive it. Later the family who had received the loan sued the brother for the expense to which they had been put because of his failure to come and receive the payment on the day set.

These, of course, were only a few of the disputes which arose in the village or among the whole group of Cowrie Shell Miao. Most small matters were settled among themselves. Much of the old man's time was taken up with such cases. Sometimes others of the village elders were called in for consultation. This was according to the Chinese Government system, though in effect this formed the village government, or council. If matters could not be settled by them, they were taken before the *lien pao* official, and, if necessary, to the *hsien* magistrate.

Economic Institutions. Within Cowrie Shell Miao society there were no specific economic institutions. Families formed economic units, and as such carried on trade with Chinese merchants and rice brokers in the *hsien* city. Just inside the walls were a few tea-shops owned by city-dwelling Cowrie Shell Miao, conveniently situated for visiting country kinfolk to gather before they returned to their villages from market. The shop keepers were gardeners and farmers as well, and much of their trade was really a form of family visits. In their shops, as well

855 hard toil of the fields. Too thinly clad and fed almost exclusively
857 on maize, they remain exposed to the inclemencies of the seasons, all day long, and spend the night in a house open to every wind. This produces selection proceeding from the disappearance of the weak, but those who resist such a regimen are then able to withstand any sort of hardship.

/Between pages 136 and 137 of the text, the two following photographs appear: "White Meo women"; "Embroidered Meo women."--translator/

591 /137/ When young men of the family marry, if there are sufficient fields to cultivate around the family house, they bring their wife there and live under the authority of the father of the family. If this is not the case, they go and establish themselves in the midst of an area needing to be cleared, and undertake the task courageously.

548 The chastity of Meo women does not seem to be as unassail-
836 able as that of Tho women, and some of them shamelessly engage in prostitution, and do not have to leave their place in the family on this account. When on an inspection tour in Dongvan, I remember that I expressed my astonishment at hearing hands clap each time I passed through certain woods which surrounded a pagoda near the post. But my astonishment gave place to stupefaction when I learned that the sacred wood was permanently haunted by young Meo girls who accorded their favors to all who came beneath its discreet shade.

● [621 The number of houses which make up a hamlet rarely exceeds
361] three or four. Even then the inhabitants usually are of the same stock,
631 and the head of the hamlet is naturally enough the progenitor of the
615 family group. The various hamlets of a small valley or of a little rocky cirque are grouped under the authority of a ma phai, who is properly speaking the chief of the village. Several villages are grouped under the authority of a ping tau, who fills the role of a giap truong or district chief in an Annamese commune, and who is himself assisted in his duties by a tsa thao. Finally, the different districts are joined together to form a tribe under the orders of a tung cha who fills the role of the mayor of a Tho commune, with a still greater
631 authority. This is the type of organization which exists in Dong Quan
609 and surrounding country, when the tribe is of a certain extent. If
563 it is less important, it is headed only by a ping tau or a simple ma phai, who is under the authority of the mayor of the Tho commune

AKha A04
Miao AE5

/110 cont./

A 835 614 178 [574] of the family participate. For this gathering pigs are slaughtered, and rice and alcohol are served. Then the two eldest divide the younger members of the family into two groups, each of which is placed under one of the two heads. Then the two elders decide to form different families from then on. From this moment on the members of the two newly-formed groups may intermarry, no matter what their actual blood relationship may be. /111/

A 582 Otherwise the great importance attached to the obstacles to marriage may be seen from the social customs, which in part are observed in such a way that the young people cannot be tempted to violate the existing obstacles to marriage (see the chapter, "Talent, Knowledge, Character, Morality, and Manners").

A M 582 [614] [621] Theoretically local exogamy does not prevail among either the Akha or the Meau. In the small Meau villages in northern Thailand, however, which are usually inhabited by only a single sib, it is observed in practice, since bearers of other family names are rarely found in one village. Except for the marriage restrictions described, however, there is a free choice of mates; among neither the Akha nor the Meau can an individual be forced to select his partner from a certain sib or a certain village. Savina (1) speaks in general of exogamy.

A M [14]

1. II, p. 284.

It seems to me, however, that he does not interpret the concept quite correctly, for from his description of the conditions it becomes unmistakably clear that true tribal endogamy is involved.

g) Dissolution of Marriage

M 587 A [587] Upon the death of one of the spouses, the surviving party may marry again among both the Meau and Akha.

If the wife dies, the husband as a rule simply takes a new wife as though he had never been married (see the section on

Akha A04
Miao AE5

/139 cont./

A M 533 832 [621] [186] among both peoples good singers always find special approval among the girls. It should also be pointed out that /140/ a pronounced love for one's native village runs through many of the love songs, which would not be expected among either the Meau or Akha, since both, as seminomadic peoples, often change their habitation sites. One might assume, therefore, that no special attachment to their villages would develop, but since the opposite is the case, it seems to indicate that the nomadic inclination of these peoples is only a secondary development (see the chapter, "Cultural Change and Colonial-Ethnological Problems among the Mountain Peoples in Thailand," section on "Causes of the Migrations").

M 539 832 The most impressive are the love songs of the Meau, which sometimes betray a really lyrical feeling:

"I came to your village in order to love you, but you would not even speak to me; this has made my heart sick with pain."

"I am a strong young man. Oh, why will you not hold my hand?" (Here the singer complains that the girl came to the rendezvous, but now is unwilling to surrender.)

"I visited you in your house, but you did not love me, so I am leaving."

"Now I have come to you, and if you will only stroke my neck, I shall be happy for several years, even if you do not grant me anything else."

"Speak only two words, and I shall be happy for a long time" (the "two words" mean a confirmation of love in return).

"I came to your house; why did you not offer me a cold drink?" (Girls present a "cold drink," that is, water, to the friend toward whom they are favorably inclined. Liquor is regarded as a very obvious invitation.)

M [273] "I came to your house, in front of which there is a tree with three fruits. Eat only one fruit, the others are poisonous!" (The singer has heard that his sweetheart has two other friends and warns her.)

/259 cont./

166 621 [596] Among the Meau individual large /extended/ families never migrate alone, but rather the village chief selects the families who are to act as an advance division. This is usually four to five large families. Their /260/ task is to examine the new terrain, to note the cultivable land, and to make preparations for laying out fields. This advance division migrates with bag and baggage, old and young people, and all their movable [342] possessions, but at first builds no houses, living instead under wind screens and leaf-roofs. Then rice fields are laid out, and only after the first harvest does the regular housebuilding begin. -- The advance division lays out rice fields not only to meet its own needs, but tries to plan for as many reserves as possible, so that those who come later are temporarily provided for. Conversely, the members of the advance division are fully provided for up to the time of the first harvest by the inhabitants left behind in the old village.

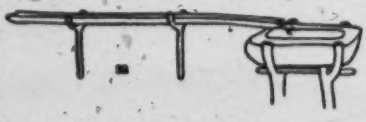
After the first successful harvest the remaining inhabitants of the village follow and conduct themselves accordingly in the same way. Everything that is not clinched and riveted fast is taken along, and even the posts that serve as supporting piles of the houses are torn out and carried with them.

Men, women, boys, and girls drag along whatever they can [492] carry. The pack animals are loaded as heavily as possible. [614] Families that have no pack animals of their own borrow those of fellow members of the sib from other villages.

166 484 A migrating procession of the Meau is assembled according to a precise plan. First a few strong men set out and with the jungle knife hack out a path through the thickets of the primeval forest to the place of the new settlement. Once this is done, they return and fetch the others. A few armed men always form the head of the procession. The women and children, with the loaded pack animals, follow, and at the end there are again armed men. The crossbow or the cocked gun is always in readiness, the powder horn within reach.

/265 cont./

621 596 I usually found the houses of the Meau occupied by one large /extended/ family; the independent sons build their houses in the vicinity of the paternal dwelling (see the chapter, "Social Organization"). This explains why in many cases only blood



312 415 824 Fig. 58. Bamboo water-line with water-trough of the Meau. 1/30 nat. size.

621 relatives live in one village.

[596] In order to be able to give a more detailed picture of the nature and composition of a village community, I am adding here a short description of the inhabitants of the village mentioned above.

592 621 Explanation in connection with the individual houses of the village plan in Fig. 57. House 1: It has an attached rice [343] granary and an enlarged sleeping room for strangers. The per- [551] sonal name of the father of the house is Tua; his family name, Sen Ku. He is the son of the shaman and the cousin of the chief. The housewife comes from the Meau village of Kun Lan (at the source of the Nam Lan). She had ten children, of whom four boys and five girls are living. All the children are still unmarried and living at home.

[343] [551] House 2: It has an attached granary for rice and maize and an attached bedroom for the oldest son. Father of the house: personal name, Lau Ju; family name, Sen Ku. He is likewise a son of the shaman and cousin of the chief. The housewife comes from the ancient Meau village at the second source-stream of the Nam Fa. She has five children, all of whom live at home. There are three boys and two girls. One child died as an infant.

[513] House 3: It has an enclosed sleeping place for the parents, and next to it a sleeping place for the married son and his wife and an attached bedroom for strangers. The father of the house

/265 cont./

592 621 [551] is the shaman of the village. Personal name, Plai Tschau; family name, Sen Ku. He is a /266/ brother of the deceased father of the chief. The housewife comes from the Meau village Muang Hu (north of Luang Prabang). Eight of her children died at a later age, presumably of malaria. Three of them [164] died only a year ago within one week, which indicates an [734] epidemic. The youngest son, 23 years of age, is completely paralyzed. He lives in the house with his young wife.

[513] House 4: It has only one open bedroom for the entire family, and one for strangers. The father of the house is a son of the shaman. The housewife comes from the Meau village of Pu Kung; she has three boys and two girls. One child died.

[342 513] House 5: The walling of the house is merely halved bamboo stalks. It has only one sleeping area for the father and the infant. The married son and his wife sleep on mats on the [551] ground. The father of the house is a White Meau with the personal name of Tschai Su, family name Tau. The housewife died a short time ago and five children have died; only the oldest son and an infant are living.

[622 551] House 6: House of the village chief (see the ground plan, Fig. 63). Personal name, Pan Sung; family name, Sen Ku (the Lao call him Tsin Tsai). By his first wife, who died four years ago, he had 11 children, one of whom died. By his second, [587] present wife he has two children, two and three years of age. His wife brought seven children into the marriage. In addition, he [595] has in his house the cousin of the White Meau of house 5 as his secondary wife, but no children by her. Two married sons with wives also live in the house.

House 7: See the groundplan, Fig. 67. The father of the [551] house is a White Meau: personal name, You Wu; family name, Tau. He is the youngest brother of the father of house 5, that [756] is to say, the cousin of the third wife of the chief. The housewife is a White Meau and a female shaman. She had seven children; three adult sons died two years ago one after another, [731 164] of cholera. The surviving members of the family therefore fled to relatives in Nam Fa.

/266 cont./

House 8: The father of the house: personal name, Yin; family name, Sen Sun. He is not related to the other villagers and allegedly moved here only because good fields could be laid out here. He looks cretinous, and this is said to have happened after an attack of fever (meningitis?), but he is a good worker, and with his daughter of about 20 he lives in peace with the other inhabitants of Nam Fa. /Ills. 52-57 appear here on unnumbered pages./

/267/ Among the Meau in Thailand, we were able to distinguish five house-types:

1. Dwelling houses,
2. Granary housing,
3. Stables,
4. Smithies,
5. Rice-field huts.

There are no houses for special purposes, such as cook-houses, guardhouses, inns, spirit houses, or such for cult associations. Except for the smithies, there is no artisan's housing.

1. Dwelling Houses

The main entrance of the houses have to lie, not in a definite direction, but on the valley side, in order to prevent the water rushing down the slope from entering the house. On the mountain side of each house there is a drainage ditch which guides the masses of water from the tropical storms past the house and into a gutter, in which it then, as in a brook, plunges into the valley. /Figs. 59-62 appear here./

When one steps into a Meau dwelling, he at first gets a very cheerless impression because of the darkness prevailing in it and the smoke-blackening which covers all the walls and furnishings. Also, corresponding with the previously described seminomadism of the mountain peoples, not too much effort and care are used in the construction of the houses. Boards, beams, supporting posts, partitioning walls, and all parts of the roof are merely roughly hewn with the ax and show marked irregularities. As binding materials, rattan and bamboo are used exclusively; sawing, nailing, or glueing is unknown. On the other hand, posts and beams are joined in various ways (Figs. 59-62). With a longer stay, however, and more precise

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 369]